

New-York Daily Tribune

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14, 1865.

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To Advertisers.

The WEEKLY TRIBUNE has a circulation larger than that of any other newspaper, and a large proportion of its subscribers are in the country. The space in this sheet allotted to advertisements is necessarily limited, so that each has the advantage of being early seen, and all are generally read with much interest as news-items. There is no one who has tried it who does not know—no advertising medium in the country so cheap, because there is none so profitable, to the advertiser. The paper circulates among the industrial and thrifty classes—the Farmers, Manufacturers, Merchants and Mechanics of the country—and is carefully read by their wives and daughters. It is safe to say that each advertisement in it is read every week by not less than half a million of the most intelligent of the people. He who makes his business, his merchandise or his manufactures known in this immense number, scattered all over the loyal States, cannot fail to do so to his own manifest and great advantage.

Advertisements on the fifth page are \$1.50, and on the eighth page \$1. For this week's issue they must be handed in to-day.

NEWS OF THE DAY.

Gold Closed Last Night at 142.

FOREIGN NEWS.

By the Scotia, which arrived here yesterday, we have two days' later news from Europe.

The Canadian mission to England has thus far not been successful. Mr. Carleton stated in the House of Commons that the conference between the Government and the Canadian delegates had not been brought to a close.

The Princess of Wales has been safely delivered of a son.

The French Government has prohibited the two sons of Napoleon III. from leaving the country without a passport. The subscriptions in the provinces have been seized by the Gendarmes.

The Austrian Government has convoked the Diet of Gratz, Salzburg, and Tyrol. The provinces have hitherto not been represented in the Council of the Empire.

GENERAL NEWS.

Admiral Godon has arrived at Hampton Roads from Havana with his iron-clads. In a dispatch to the Navy Department he describes the visit of the Captain-General of Cuba to the fleet. He states that the Stonewall compares very unfavorably with our own iron-clads, and that the Monitor alone is her superior in every respect.

The companies which composed the old Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, which was attacked when marching through Baltimore, April 19, 1861, have been invited to take part in the exercises at the dedication of the monument at Lowell, in honor of the men killed on that occasion, on the 17th inst.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue has consented to submit an agreed case to the United States Circuit Court, Maryland, on the question whether a tax can be imposed on sales of produce in 1864, by an amended section of the law, where such sales have already paid a tax.

The Unitarian pulpit in Concord, N. H., was closed against the minister of the society, the Rev. J. L. Hatch, on the 11th inst., on account of his having, against warning, advocated the right of the freedmen to the elective franchise on the previous Sunday.

The President has issued a proclamation appointing William L. Sharkey Provisional Governor of Mississippi, and providing for the establishing of rules and regulations and the early calling of a convention, as in the case of North Carolina.

The Indians attacked a Mormon train at North Platte crossing, and at Eagle Creek Station on the overland route recently, killing and wounding all the troops-tenders and soldiers. Gen. Conner has sent troops out to keep the mail-route open.

The persons charged with an attempt to seize the steamer Colon have been held to answer before the County Court, in San Francisco, on the charge of grand larceny. The evidence does not clearly show what was the purpose of the intended seizure.

The steamer Brother Jonathan has arrived at San Francisco from the northern coast, with \$135,000 in gold from Victoria, and \$192,000 from Portland. The northern mines are reopened to trade, and begin to yield largely again.

The treaty between the United States and Honduras provides for perpetual amity and a reciprocal freedom of commerce and navigation. The right of way of the contemplated Honduras inter-oceanic railway is also secured.

A serious railway accident occurred near Washington last evening. Two trains, one filled with soldiers, collided, killing six and more or less severely wounding from thirty to forty others. One of the conductors is said to be to blame.

The arguments in the Salvador piracy case were concluded at San Francisco on the 7th inst. The Commission probably will not allow its finding to be publicly known until the President has been advised.

The 33d Massachusetts regiment, who shared the grand campaign with Sherman, after doing gallant service in the Army of the Potomac, arrived at Boston yesterday, and met with an enthusiastic reception.

The Street Cleaning Commission met yesterday morning, but adjourned until to-day to give time for the entries offered by the contractors to put in sworn statements of the amount of their property.

Speaker Colfax and party arrived at Salt Lake on the 11th inst. A meeting of 3,000 people was addressed by Mr. Colfax and others on the night of the 12th. The party will remain until Monday next.

A delegation of Virginia Unionists has arrived at Washington from Richmond, to confer with the President on the condition of the State. John Minor Botts and Gen. Anderson are among the number.

The rebel Commander Maury wrote to Admiral Godon while the latter was at Havana, offering to surrender himself to the U. S. authorities on the same terms as those accorded to Gen. Lee.

Noah Brooks, the Washington correspondent of the Savannah Office, has been appointed Naval officer, and ex-Congressman Thomas B. Shannon, Surveyor of the port of San Francisco.

In the New-York Tax Commissioners case the Court of Appeals have reversed the decision of the lower Court, and declared the relator entitled to all the fees and emoluments of the office.

The sentence of death was passed yesterday on Michael Keeney in the Brooklyn Court of Oyer and Terminer for the murder in that city of John Ravensburg on the 19th of April, 1863.

The Mayor of Savannah, accompanied by two members of the City Government, arrived in Washington yesterday to confer with the President.

To an interrogatory of Secretary Stanton Gen. Halleck replies that he knows nothing of any cruelties to negroes at Richmond.

Daniel R. Goodloe, one of the editors of

The Washington Chronicle, has been appointed by the President as Marshal of the District of Columbia, in place of Mr. Lamson, resigned.

A vessel has just arrived at Washington from Morehead City, N. C. She brings intelligence of great distress among the people of that State, who are in want of food and clothing.

Large numbers of soldiers are deserting from their regiments at Washington and going home on the ground that they enlisted "for the war" and that the war is now ended.

A protracted Cabinet meeting, lasting three and a half hours, was held yesterday. Rumor reports reconstruction to have been the subject of discussion.

A boiler at Selsor, Cook & Co's hardware factory at Germantown, Pa., exploded yesterday. The boiler-house was demolished. No one was injured.

The 116th New-York Volunteers arrived home at Buffalo yesterday, and were welcomed by the military, the fire department and crowds of citizens.

Mr. Joseph Lawrence, long known as the President of the United States Trust Company, died at his residence, in this city, on Sunday evening.

The Secretary of War has ordered the release of all the prisoners of war in Fort Mifflin, including those sentenced during the war.

Preparations are making at San Francisco for the grand celebration of the Fourth of July ever known on the Pacific coast.

Efforts are still quietly making at San Francisco to induce men to enlist in the Emigration Association for Mexico.

The gunboats on the Upper Tennessee River are to go into peace quarters at the ship-yard at Chattanooga.

The Evans House, at Petroleum Centre, Ohio, was burned on Monday night. Loss—no insurance—\$10,000.

Information has been received of the safe arrival of Benjamin, the Rebel Secretary of State, under the shadow of the British lion, at Bermuda.

An attempt was made at Chicago on Saturday night last, to murder J. Winslow Ayre, an important witness against the Knights of the Golden Circle.

Delaney, the Maine bounty broker who was proved to have made over \$100,000, has been unconditionally pardoned by the President.

Gen. Grant and staff left Chicago for Washington yesterday morning.

Capt. Fiske of the Yellow Stone expedition left Washington on his western tour last evening.

Ex-President Buchanan's forth-coming history, of his Administration will shortly appear.

A Quaker delegation visited the President by appointment early yesterday morning.

Prof. Joseph Kowirski, the leader of the Polish emigration, has arrived in Washington.

Gen. Sheridan has handed in his report of the Battle of Five Forks.

Seven-Thirties were subscribed for yesterday to the amount of \$2,056,500.

Gold yesterday sold at 143 during the morning, and closed at 142. The market to-day is expected to be large. The extreme quotations were 140 1/4 to 143 1/4. Government stocks are higher, and 5-20s are quoted 109 1/2 to 110 1/2.

The day takes out several parcels. Border State stocks are in regular. The miscellaneous shares were stronger. Railway shares were lower during the earlier part of the day, but rallied at noon, and were in very active demand at full prices.

At the Public Board the market was strong, and higher rates were made upon the active list, with a quick market for every thing offered. Money is plenty at 4 1/2 per cent on call to brokers. At the latter rate it is hard to place business. A good deal of money is being put into 7-30 notes for employment, and they have a decided preference over any form of paper. Commercial paper is quoted 14 1/2 per cent, and not in demand. Exchange for to-day's mail is not so firm, and rather lower for the buyer. At the Second Board the market was steady, but the street prices improved and the market closed steadily.

A meeting for the purpose of securing employment for returned soldiers, will be held at Metropolitan Hall, Sixth-ave., this evening, as per advertisement.

The President has, by proclamation, appointed William L. Sharkey Provisional Governor of the State of Mississippi, with powers to convene a convention of the loyal people of that State to amend the Constitution of the State and restore it to the Union.

The President has issued a proclamation still further opening the South to commerce, declaring that armed rebellion has ceased to exist in Tennessee, and annulling previous disqualifying proclamations which applied only to a State in insurrection against the Government.

We have private intelligence from Hayti stating that the insurgent force was reported to be on the march for Port-au-Prince. The Rebels declare that it is their determination to establish a more liberal government and place themselves under the protection and patronage of the United States.

An important declaration by Senator John Sherman of Ohio on Negro Suffrage will be found in this morning's paper. That eminent statesman, heretofore reckoned a pretty strict conservative, is of opinion that in the revolted States the United States Government has full power to prescribe the terms of citizenship, and to confer the right of suffrage, and he deems it the duty of the Government to give the ballot to the negro as a means of insuring to those States a loyal and a republican form of government.

HANGING-FOR WHAT?
 The N. Y. Times of the 9th inst. contained the following:
 "Why, as the testimony upon the pending trials bears hard upon Davis, Thompson, Clay and Sanders, THE TRIBUNE should labor to shield all conspirators and assassins from the penalty which the law provides, we are at a loss to conjecture."

To which THE TRIBUNE of next morning thus explicitly replied:
 "We have never intimated a wish or hope that any one charged with assassination, or arson, or poisoning, or wilfully disseminating pestilence, or robbery and murder, should not be tried, executed, and, if found guilty, sentenced and punished. On the contrary, we have done our best to elicit, bring to the notice of the proper authorities, and spread before the public, all possible evidence tending to fasten these crimes on those who have perpetrated them. If any of those who have been officially charged with conspiring to assassinate President Lincoln shall evade or be denied a trial on that charge, it shall not be our fault."

Three daily issues of THE TIMES have since appeared, in none of which do we find any attempt to justify its charge that we had "labored to shield all conspirators and assassins from the penalty which the law provides," any retraction of that charge, nor any recognition of the fact that we had branded it as untrue. The readers of THE TIMES have, up to this hour, reason to believe—if they put any faith in the honesty or fairness of its conduct—that we have tacitly confessed its truth.

We make this exposure with no intent of soliciting a correction at the hands of THE TIMES, if

it can afford to let the matter rest where it now stands, we can. Unfounded imputations and groundless attacks damage their authors far more than their objects.

But we have a right to object, and do object, to THE TIMES's characteristic attempts to wriggle itself substantially on to our platform with regard to the treatment of the Rebel chiefs. Throughout the storm of popular indignation and wrath very naturally aroused by the assassination of President Lincoln, THE TIMES floated on the boiling current which we felt constrained to resist. Now that the flood has swept by, leaving reason to resume its sway, THE TIMES glides into the eddy, and, moving in a sort of a circle, labors, while looking both ways and heading first one, then the other, to assuage the fury which it has aided to excite. Thus, it now says:

"The appeals of the liberal presses of England and France for clemency to Davis have a better recommendation. They come from friends tried and true, and are in the sacred name of the popular cause in Europe. They will be received with respect, and considered well."

"It is true—and we cheerfully recognize it—that the Liberals of Europe have long been against the infliction of death for political offenses. The French Republic of 1848, in one of its first acts, abolished all capital punishment for political causes; and it punished the leaders of the great June insurrection with only imprisonment, or exile. In all the other popular revolutions of that period, no judicial process whatever was instituted against either potentate or minister who had practiced murder. If deprived of power, they were allowed to go quietly from the country; if continued in power, the people were content with their own to be faithful to the new constitution," &c., &c.

—This is in good part true, but not wholly. The English Liberals are not specially committed "against the infliction of death for political offenses." They doubtless generally deem such infliction a mistake; but this is rather a reflection—a deduction from history—than a profession. So of European Liberals generally, those of France excepted. And, even in France, many of our prominent champions are no wise affiliated with the "Reds," nor committed to their views. The fact, therefore, that all the European friends of the Union cause—which includes all the European Democracy and many more—would dissuade us from inflicting death on the chiefs of the exploded Rebellion—is one of vast significance. They stand to us in the relation of Posterity—of History—of "Philip sober." They are identified with our principles, our interests, our hopes, but not with our transitory passions. When THE TIMES tells its readers (truly) that these are all against hanging the defeated Rebels, it means adroitly to incline those readers to the same view, without incurring the resentment of those who "would not be persuaded, though one rose from the dead." The game is a dexterous one: we are content to exposit, and pass on. We might have saved a few subscribers by pursuing a course like that of THE TIMES; but, having been able thus far to walk erect and live, we are too old to learn to crawl while we shall be able to stand.

We note with pleasure, as a sign of the times, that the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church, now sitting at New-Brunswick, N. J., has unanimously adopted, among other characteristic resolves, the following:

"Resolved, That while we have no sympathy with that false spirit of charity, born of ignorance and ignorance, that would excuse the infliction of justice and the punishment of guilt, we counsel the largest possible exercise of clemency toward the delinquent and the repentant, forgiving their trespasses as Christ has forgiven us."

"The logic of this resolve is fashioned after the similitude of a ram's horn; but, no matter, since the spirit is right—and the counsel good. And we feel confident that Christians of nearly or quite every denomination are now prepared to unite in that counsel. Six weeks ago, they were not."

—As to those who believe, or think they believe, that our Government may justifiably hand over to trial and punishment as traitors Gen. R. E. Lee and all other prisoners of war paroled under his capitulation and those fashioned after it, we beg them to consider, first, the express terms of that capitulation:

"This [the surrender] done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they reside."

These conditions were framed and proposed by Gen. Grant, and accepted by Gen. Lee. And Gen. Grant, in his final letter, says:

"The terms upon which Peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms, they will hasten that most desirable event, since thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed."

"Sincerely hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself, very respectfully, your obedient servant,"

"U. S. GRANT, Lieut.-Gen. U. S. A."

Can there be a question as to the proper force and effect of this language? Is there one general officer in the Union armies who holds that the men shielded by this capitulation can nevertheless be now arrested, arraigned for treason, and put on trial for their lives? If there be one such, we challenge him to stand forth! and let the public have a look into his eyes! We do not believe there is one.

—We might strengthen our case, if that were needed, by citing the debate on the above terms in our State Senate, or the demur to them by Senator Bell, the eager indorsement they received from Messrs. Fields and Humphrey, and the corresponding manifestations in all parts of the country. Had our Government been left at liberty to arrest, try, convict and hang the paroled Rebels, the demur and the eager approval would have been alike preposterous. But the truth is already plain. THE TIMES knows—all the intelligent know—that not one of those paroled under Lee's and the kindred capitulations will be punished for treason, or can be, without a breach of faith. Then why not frankly say so, and take thereby a long stride toward pacifying and tranquillizing the country?

If it be not deemed impertinent, we would like to know with what reason or fitness Mr. John Mitchell talks of himself and his confederates as "the Peace Democracy." Mr. Mitchell was among the authors and inspirers of the War waged by his fellow Democrats of the South for the overthrow and destruction of this Republic. He has sent his three sons into that War on the side of Slavery and Disunion. He shouted for war from the outset, and his voice was "still for war" to the end. Now, we allow people generally to choose designations for themselves and apply them to us without much

thought or care as to their aptness; but, really, to call Mr. John Mitchell, or allow him to call himself, a "Peace Democrat," seems a little too brazen. If there are War Democrats in the land, it strikes us that he is one. Why, then, should he—after making his best possible fight for what he deems Democracy, speak reproachfully of others as "War Democrats?"

OUR RETURNING SOLDIER.

When the period of the English Commonwealth was terminated by the death of Cromwell, and the importation of that hard bargain, the Second Charles, the veterans of the iron-sided legions went back to their baking and brewing, their plowing and other early avocations, and became as famous for honesty in peace as they had been for bravery in war. It was noted that they made uncommonly good citizens, with whom it was always safe and profitable and agreeable to do business, so that their truth, sobriety, thrift and application became proverbial throughout the land, and especially in London. After a civil war more conclusive in its results, or at least more promising in its termination, albeit our Cromwell too is taken from us, all our highways swarm with disbanded soldiers seeking again their homes, and ready, after years of arms, to resume the implements of peaceful diligence. The sudden obtrusion of so marked an element upon the social life of that part of the country which has not practically experienced the vicissitudes of war might, under other conditions, give rise to certain natural apprehensions of violence, of riot, of increased crime and of pauperism; but it is a remarkable and cheering fact, that while the war has immeasurably increased the military skill and resources of the country, it has not seriously affected its sobriety of judgment, nor to any marked extent created a distaste for peaceful pursuits. This arises chiefly, we suppose, from that distinct understanding of the limited purposes of the war, which has made every soldier regard himself as something better than the mere instrument of leaders eager for martial glory, but rather as one of a great posse comitatus charged with the enforcement and vindication of the law. This high and holy work accomplished, the whole work for which the army was organized is also accomplished, and the soldier retires, as a special constable would retire after the suppression of a riot, to defend only by his vote the liberty which he has secured by his sword. All his sufferings and privations, his wounds and his loss of cherished companions, his painful absence, and the interruption of his progress toward a competency, are the high price which he has paid for the privilege of living and dying the citizen of a permanent and prosperous Republic, and for the certainty of transmitting that privilege as a heritage to his children, if he can give them no other. The battles of war are over, and he cheerfully turns to engage in the battles of peace.

It is for society at large, which owes an enormous debt, transcending the obligations of common gratitude to its soldiers, to its victorious defenders, to recognize each of them as a creditor who cannot be paid off by a pension, but who is entitled to watchful assistance and a warm and helping hand; employment, each in his private handicraft, the respectful treatment due to a good servant of the State, encouragement to surmount difficulties; and, we think we may say, a preference, other things being equal, when labor is to be assigned. It is hard to get back into old ways which have been abandoned. The places which once knew these brave men may have been filled, and former employers may have disappeared, or may have changed their business. The routine of trade may have been disarranged, and the mechanic who left his bench to go to Virginia or Georgia may not find that bench standing upon his return. But we know that there must be work for all in this great and teeming land. Always a main difficulty with the industriously inclined is, in the turmoil and tangle of society, to discover a clue to guide him, through the jostle of conflicting interests, to the precise points at which daily bread is to be had for daily work. Competition is too often stone-blind and stony-hearted in all that regards the welfare of others; and those who labor under peculiar difficulties and disadvantages, are clearly entitled to special assistance. God knows we do not mean alms-giving! A soldier begging would be a sight to make an honest man's eyes red and rheumy. A soldier asking for work need cause no tears, unless—which we hope is not likely to happen—he should ask for it in vain.

We have, by the blessing of Providence, achieved all the advantages of great military success, without the dangers, thus far, which too often accompany it. Now we want complete social order, and a prosperity which shall not be embittered by injustice toward any man, or by even the suggestion of any form of pauperism unnumbered and unceasing by human infirmities. The country is deeply in debt—the waste of this war, as of all wars, has been positive; and although we may set off against this the economical gain likely to follow the disappearance of compulsory slave labor, we have still a great work to do in recreating the wealth which has been sunk in our ships, burned in our warehouses, or blown into air from the cannon's mouth. Every pair of hands now is worth twice as much as it was ten years ago. These hands, when they have not been left upon the battle-field, will now be extended for work and for wages, and they must not be extended in vain. They will not be, for already this important subject has attracted the attention of the thoughtful and benevolent, and we are glad to notice that the best feeling is generally prevailing. Work will be found for those who really want it and who cannot by their own exertions obtain it. It would be very strange if the disbanding of the army did not throw loose upon society a few idle vagabonds who did no more work than they were obliged to do before the war, and who will be happy to live upon their martial reputation for the rest of their lives. But we firmly believe that these are the exceptions, and that in welcoming back our fellow-citizens from the field of honor and of danger we greet an absolute accession to the

producing power of the country—to the forces which create its wealth and make it morally as well as materially great.

SUFFRAGE FOR THE WEAK.

A vote has two values. It is, first, the expression of an opinion, which may or may not affect the material interests of the voter, but which he esteems as the performance of his relative duties to his fellow-creatures—as something which he owes to the aggregate interests of society. But, in the second place, a vote is the weapon which, so far as the infirmity of human device will permit, protects natural equality from the obtrusion of artificial distinctions, diminishes the undue influence of accidental position, and asserts the supremacy of individual will over dictation, compulsion and the selfishness of the mass, it may be, or of the few. The right to vote implies the duty of acquiescence in the will of the majority; but, when that right is ignored or speciously withheld, the disfranchised citizen, although for reasons of prudence he may acquiesce in public measures privately determined on, is under no moral obligation to do so, and owes no obedience to those laws to the enactment of which he did not consent. In the days of Adams, Franklin, Henry and Jefferson—in the golden days of the Declaration of Independence—statements like these would have been had, and in fact did have, a lively interest, abstract as they are; because the press of politics had not then diverted men's minds from the consideration of fundamental axioms; nor was Mr. John Mitchell yet born to preach to the nations the chromatic limitations of natural law. We are not ourselves disposed to argue the question of "Negro Suffrage" upon what we should esteem the highest ground. We have already discussed the matter from the point of simple, dry, practical expediency; but now we ask the reader to consider the perilous condition in which the Freedman is placed, not, it must be remembered, by any act of his own, but first, through the besotted ambition of his quondam owner, and in the next place by our act, by the act of this nation, in changing his social position. We have, it must be remembered, called the Black to the performance of new duties; we have, in a word, liberated him from galling and grinding bondage, not specially for his sake, not because we pitied him as weak, down-trodden and terribly abused, but because the life of the nation hung upon a course of simple justice to this long-suffering race—because it was for our advantage, our peace, our safety and our prosperity, to acknowledge the manhood of the Black, who involuntarily has become the greatest benefactor of this nation, since through him we have been able to strike a blow at faction and to assert the supremacy of the Constitution. Now, admitting our obligations, and we do not think that any one in his senses will deny them, the question arises whether the Black shall be abandoned naked to the rage of those who will sedulously seek for some object of vengeance, and whom may be mean enough to vent upon the defenseless those stormy passions which ignominious failure must have awakened. We have made this slave nominally free. But of what value will this freedom be to him, if it bring no means of preserving and of protecting it? If the old slaveholders are to retain in the reconstructed States the old supremacy, are to dictate measures without any check, are to dominate after the old fashion, this gift of freedom to the Black will be only a cruel mockery, leaving him still at the mercy of his oppressors, who may hamper his movements, harass his life, check his progress, keep down his wages, and make his last state worse than his first. We published lately a case occurring in Alabama, which we think very much to the point. Two of our "Freedmen" stopped work to look at soldiers passing. They were ordered back to their work by the overseer, and, their obedience not being swift enough to satisfy him, he shot one dead and seriously wounded the other. That dead "Freedman" had but a small taste of the liberty bestowed upon him by the United States of America before he received his final deed of emancipation and went to join John Brown. Now, one object of emancipation we take to be the prevention of flogging, picking, paddling, rash and indiscriminate shooting, extra judicial hanging, burning, and the other ghoulish expedients of the old race of petty Pharaohs. But no legislation, however stringent and particular, can save any class from the fangs of ingenious tormentors, if that class be left without the means of defending itself, and in that hopelessly degraded position which the denial of citizenship, which in this country is tantamount to the denial of humanity, implies. No being thus left at the mercy of his old oppressors is in the least improved as to his condition by the bestowal of the pretty new name with which he has been baptized withal. On the contrary, as he will be more heartily hated, so will he be more heartily oppressed. Are the Blacks to be left in this hideous limbo, vibrating between freedom and slavery, in an anomalous and hopeless position, free in name and serfs in fact, mere tools which clever camps may use in trying experiments in law with no great danger, as juries will, in such case, be constituted? If so, our tenderest mercies are tough indeed!

We have made the Blacks "free." But what is "freedom?" Let the honest voter, who is equally proud of his vote and of his honesty, answer the question! Let the reader of this article who is continually voting for or against Constitutions and constitutional amendments, for Presidents, Governors, Congressmen, Judges, Mayors, Selectmen, Supervisors—let such voter answer this question. Would he consider himself "free" if the right of voting were taken entirely away from him, and bestowed exclusively upon men who were two inches taller or shorter, a little richer, a little poorer, a little blacker or a little whiter than he? There is not a voter in this city who, if he were thus disfranchised, would not loudly and lugubriously howl to the world that he was made a slave. He who should be thus treated would not make the least objection to a revolution for his own private benefit and behoof. It would be no consolation that by act of the Assembly he was named "a Freedman." He

would call upon Heaven and Earth, God and man, to redress his grievances, and summon a mass meeting of his friends in the Park or in Tammany before he was an hour older!

Here again, as in so many other instances, we are brought up to the rack of our theories, and must swallow or repudiate them—the happy middle course upon which we once traveled as jauntily having mysteriously "gone under." But in this special matter it seems to us that something more than our safety, our national honor, is concerned. If the poor dog is no more to be hunted, we must stop giving him a bad name. The Rebel Man-Owners have lost much—houses, lands, beasts of burden, cash and credit; but if we wish to bestow upon them a substantial consolation, and give them an excellent chance of recovering the old power which they have lost, nine times intensified, we have only to leave them in their position so often claimed of "superior race." The Blacks will be down again in twenty years, and we Northern Whites will be down with them!

THE WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA.
 THE TRIBUNE on Monday gave exclusively an account of the opening of war between the Argentine Republic and Paraguay. We published to-day, from papers received yesterday from Buenos Ayres, additional details of the first movements of the belligerents.

President Mitre, on receiving the news of the wanton invasion of the Argentine Republic, issued a proclamation to his "fellow countrymen" summoning them to their posts as citizen-soldiers. According to the press of Buenos Ayres, the proclamation has been received with enthusiasm, and all political parties are said to be united in a determination to support the Government.

According to present appearances, the war may become one of the most important that has yet taken place in South America. The land forces of Paraguay are estimated by the Buenos Ayres Standard at 60,000, those of the allies—Brazil, the Argentine Republic and Uruguay—are expected to reach soon 75,000. But the greater number of this force has yet to be raised, while the Paraguayan force is already in the field. It is thought, therefore, that it may take a few months before the allies can assume the aggressive.

The combined population of the three allied countries so far outnumbers that of Paraguay, that the success of the latter would seem to be impossible. The Paraguayans hope, however, that they will find many allies in the northern provinces of the Argentine Republic, and in Uruguay. In the Brazilian province of Rio Grande, which will now be the first to be overrun by the forces of Paraguay, the slaves form a vast majority of the inhabitants, and by giving them liberty, President Lopez would detach this valuable province from Brazil.

It is evident that the issue of this war may have important consequences for a large portion of South America.

OUR NATIONAL DEBT—CAN IT BE PAID OFF?
 To the Editor of THE N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: A day or two ago THE TRIBUNE contained an article urging the reduction of the National debt by voluntary contribution.

There can be no doubt that the subject of paying this debt is receiving the attention of intelligent men all over the country. In this section it is being earnestly considered and discussed. Every truly loyal man pays his taxes cheerfully, and feels grateful that the country has escaped its perils with so slight a burden. But, nevertheless, it is a subject of annoyance and irritation, that so large a proportion of the amount of internal revenue (paid) remains in the hands of those who collect it. The whole system seems to be wrong. It is too cumbersome—requires too many men, and they are, most of them, extravagantly paid. In each Congressional district we have a Collector and Assessor, and in each township a sub-Assessor; and now, in addition, in each district an inspector. And the pay of these numerous officers is altogether disproportionate to their services; and when compared with the compensation received by State officials is shamefully extravagant. Take, as an instance, the Collector of this District (a worthy gentleman, and receiving no more than the law gives him). His compensation greatly exceeds that of the Governor of the State, or the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court! And yet his office requires neither extraordinary ability nor extraordinary intelligence, is attended with very little expense (for all his clerk hire is paid by the Government) and, under the present arrangement, with no very great responsibility. This, we think in this part of the country, is all wrong and should be changed.

Now why can we not pay off at once, as you have suggested, one-third of the debt by voluntary subscription (a bank offering, or by direct assessment on the property of the State, or by a judicious system of duties on manufactured articles, export and import duties, and the sale of licenses and stamps, raise annually a sum sufficient to pay the interest on the balance and something more toward its final extinction, and thus get rid of this swarm of office-holders and the annoying evils referred to? Suppose our taxes were quadrupled or increased even to a greater extent for a time, might it not be done by judicious discrimination without any serious detriment to the industry and business of the country? If it might, is not the great advantage of doing it apparent to every one?

And it must not be overlooked that the evils of the present system of meeting the pecuniary wants and obligations of the Government will be sored upon by the enormous increase of the debt, and the consequent increase of the number of office-holders and the consequent increase of the expense of the Government.

For a time, at least, in the future, the poor who shall with greatest plausibility promise the people relief, and the burden of taxation, and the consequent increase of the debt, will be likely to be the party in greatest favor; unless, indeed, it is further more in reference to other great questions than any party stopping its course just now is likely to be.